



AN

ACCOUNT

OFTHE

LIFE

OF

Apollonius Tyaneus.

By M. Le Nain de Tillemont.

Translated out of French.

To which are added,

Some OBSERVATIONS

UPON

APOLLONIUS.

LONDON: Printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, at the Prince's-Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1702.



to all the best to Thingson

To which are added,

NO DEAVARENT ON

THE

PREFACE.

Le Nain de Tillemont, the Author of this Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, has written the History of the Roman Emperors and other Princes, during the Six first Centuries of the Church, and likewise Ecclesiastical Memoirs, in many Volumes, with great Learning and Judgment. And in this Work he gives an Account not only of the Persecutions raised against the Church, and of whatever elle

else had happened, wherein Religion was concerned, but of Profane Writers, and of all Persons of Note and Eminency in their several Times. But in his Advertisement before his first Tome of his History of the Emperors, he acquaints the Reader, that the Account of Apollonius was of too great Length to be made an Addition only to the History of Domitian, that therefore in his second Tome (from whence it is here translated) he had assigned it a distinct Title, and that probably this would be the only instance, wherein he should find occasion to insert such a Discourse thus by it self. So that this was designed by him, as an entire Treatise, and stands apart from the rest of his History.

The Doctors of the Sorbon in their Approbation, before his First Tome of Ecclesiastical Memoirs, declare in behalf of this Excellent Author, that they are answerable to the World for his Sincerity and Exactness, that he advances nothing, but upon undeniable Proofs, that he is modest and cautious even to a Scruple, that Humility, which is his true Character, appears throughout the whole Work, in every part whereof there is discernible an extraordinary degree of Learning.

As to his Performance in the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, A 4 M. Boyle M. Boyle in his Dictionary declares, that having resolved to write a large Account of Apollonius, he found himself prevented by M. de Tillemont, who had given so full and exact a Relation of all that was remarkable in his Life, that nothing remained for him to fay, which had not been before observed by M. de Tillemont. And therefore M. Boyle is very short in his Discourse of Apollonius, and inferts it, as he fays, only for Form's sake.

He all along cites M. de Tillemont, and in some sew Passages makes Remarks upon him. When he says, that Philostratus makes it a point of Merit in Apollonius, that at Cadis, he stirred up the Governour of the Country against Nero, and that the other Philosophers made no more scruple of it than be, and then observes, that it is the Christian Religion, which has taught Subjects the True Principles of Obedience: It is remarked by M. Boyle, that Christianity has very great and excellent Advantages above all Philosophy; but then he adds, that in the present point, for more than these Thousand Years, there has been little Reason to insult the Philosophers. He observes, that Philostratus reckons it, an Heroick Exploit to have Raised a Rebellion against Domitian, and then says, that this Impostor had aped the Son of God in many things, but that in the Case Case of Obedience and Patience he discovered himself, he yielded the Point, and there is no Comparison in the Case. M. Boyle likewise declares, that it is not to be doubted, but that the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus contains a Thousand fabulous Stories, or, if the Facts be true, that they can be attributed to nothing but Magick.

M. Boyle remarks in Contradiction to M. de Tillemont, that Apollonius was worshipped in the beginning of the Fourth Century, tho' under the Name of Hercules, and that Lactantius was more acute than solid, in saying of him, (a) ideo alieni nominis titulo affectavit divinitatem, quia suo nec poterat, nec audebat.

(a) Lactant. lib. 5. c. 3.

andebat. M. Boyle says, Apollonius did not affect it, but the Ephesians chose to worship him under that Name: He says further, that he cannot persuade himself, that the People of Tyana lest off the Worship of Apollonins in the beginning of the Fourth Century, or that they had taken his Images out of all their Temples. To make this good he refers to the Words of Vopiscus, which he had before cited, and produces the Testimony of Eusebius to prove, that in his Time Wonders were reported to be done by the Invocation of the Name of Apollonius, and alledges an Epistle of Marcellinus to St. Austin, to shew that in that time a ridiculous Pretence was made, as M. Boyle's Words are, to parallel the Miracles of Apollonius with those of Christ, or to prefer them before His.

(b) Fertur enim — Apollonium Thyanxum — amicum verum Deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum recipienti se (Aureliano) in tentorium ea forma, qua videtur, subito astitisse. Vopisc. in Aurelian.

But (b) Vopiscus fays nothing to M. Boyle's purpose; he extols Apollonius indeed very highly, and fays, that he deser-

ved Divine Honours, not that they were then paid him. Marcellinus speaks of Miracles, which were pretended to have been done formerly, and were now opposed to those of our Saviour. And if this Citation prove any

(c) Apollonium thing, it must (c) prove, that nobis de Apu-

leium, aliosof, magica artis bomines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt excitisse miracula. Marcellini ad Augustinum Epist. inter Epistolas August. 4ta. Augira των νῶν εἰσιν οἱ περίεργες μηχανὰς τῷ τῷ ἀνδρός ἀνακειμένας περσηγορία ματειλημέναι λέγεσιν. ἀκλ ἐκ ἐμοί με φίλον τέτοις προσέχειν τὸν νέν. Euseb. in Hier.

Apuleins

Apuleius was then likewise worshipped, who is there mentioned in the same Rank, and upon the same occasion with Apollonius; and not Apuleius alone, but other Magicians. But can it be supposed, that all these had Divine Worship given them in the Fourth Century? Besides, both Marcellinus, and Eusebins speak of the private Opinions of Men, not of publick Worship. So that there is no Reason to conclude, that Apollonius was worshipped as a God in the time of Lactantius, or in the beginning of that Century. Lactantius says, he affected Divine Worship under another's Name, that is, he was well pleased, and glad to be worshipped in that manner:

But

But whatever becomes of the Expression, he must have told a manifest Falshood; if, as M. Boyle Imagines, the Worship of Apollonius had still obtained at that time in the World. And it must be allowed, that Lactantius is a better Witness of his own Times, than any one, that lives so long

(d) hv τι θεων τε η ανθρώπων μέσον. — δέον επιδυμίαν εἰς ανθρώπες θεῦ μαλεῖν (βίον Α-πολωνίε) Eunap. Proæm.

after, can be. (d) Eunapius, whom M. Boyle cites from M. de Tille-

mont, speaks only his own Opinion. Nothing therefore can be concluded against M. de Tillemont from any Citation produc'd by M. Boyle.

(e) ἐκλ' ἐδ' ἐλ It is strange, that M. Boyle

c) λοστέροις παράπος τῶν νῶν hould think, that (e) Eusebius

μνάμως ἐπαρχέσης ἀυτβ. Ευseb. might not very well and truly
in Hier.

fay, that Apollonius was not fo much as reckoned among the Philosophers by any of his time; tho' (f) Am. Marcellinus has (f) Am. Mar-styled him the most famous Phi-c. 6. losopher, he might come into Credit again under Inlian. But it cannot be supposed, that Eusebius had enquired of all the Men of his time, what they thought of Apollonius, he spoke what the general Opinion of Men was then of him: And fuch Forms of Speech are never understood to mean more, by prudent and candid Readers.

But I must not omit, that M. Boyle takes notice, that St. Austin in his Answer to Marcellinus, prefers Apollonius before the Heathen Jupiter, which says M. Boyle,

M. Boyle, should shame, I know not what fort of Modern Divines, who will not suffer us to look upon the Privation of the Knowledge of God, as a less Evil, than the Worship, which the Gentiles paid to their abominable Deities, who were worse according to St. Austin than the Magicians.

I wish some may not misunderstand M. Boyle so far, as to suppose this rather an Apology for
Atheism, than meant in a just
Detestation of the Heathen Religions. But as a little Acquaintance with Heathen Authors
must needs make any Christian
wonder at the Idolatries of the
Heathen Worship, and at the
same time abhor them: So
common

common Sense will convince any Man of the Impiety and Folly of Atheism. To deny the very Being of God, must needs be a more wilful and heinous Sin, than to acknowledge his Being, but to be mistaken concerning his Attributes. The Subtilties and Stratagems of Satan, his Oracles and lying Wonders, the Prejudices and Prepossessions of Education and Example, might too easily prevail upon Men to follow their own vicious Inclinations in the Practice of Idolatrous Worship, and therefore the times of this Ignorance God winked at. But in the Existence of God the Voice of Nature it self, and the general Voice of Mankind agree; and we never read

for .

read, that God at any time connived at Atheism. Indeed if the Being of God were a Subject, that could admit of any Dispute, and the Belief of him were a matter merely of Speculation, it would perhaps be worse to believe such Gods, as the Heathens worshipped, than to believe no God at all: Because it may seem less dishonourable to God to deny his Being, than to think and speak the worst things of him. But the Belief of God is a practical Notion, it is to believe a Governour of the World, on whom we depend, and to whom we are in Subjection: And therefore to deny God, is to deny this Subjection, and to disown

disown any such Authority over us.

St. (g) Austin says, that A-

better than Jupiter:
But how does it from thence follow, that Atheism is better than Heathen Theology?
Nothing that I can perceive follows from it, but that Jupiter was more unfit to be

(g) Quis autem vel rish dignum non putet, quod Apollonium, de Apuleium, caterosq; magicarum Artium peritissimos conferre Christo, vel etiam praferre conantur? quanquam tolerabilius ferendum sit, quando istos ei potius comparant, quam Deos suos imulto enim melior (quod fatendum est) Apollonius suit, quam tot stuprorum auxor de perpetrator, quem Jovem nominant. Augustin. Epist: 5:

worshipped as a God than Apollonius, and that they were less culpable, who paid him Divine Worship, than the Worshippers of Jupiter were. The Gentiles taught some good things of their Gods, as well as many ill;

and the Good and True Do-Arines which they believed of their Gods, had their effect towards the Preservation of Society in the common Offices of Life . Whereas the Atheist had nothing, but his own Humour and Interest for his Rule of Living. the Gentiles represented their Gods to themselves like fome Princes, who take great Liberties in their own Practice, which they will not endure in their Subjects, but keep the World in awe, and assume to themselves a kind of Prerogative of Exemption from those Vertues, which they expect in others. This shews the Unreasonableness of Atheism, that the Notion of God is naturally fo

so impress'd on the Minds of Men, that all their Vices cannot deface it, tho' they mix many absurd Fancies and Contradictions with it; and that there is something beneficial to Society in the very worst Religion, but nothing can be expeded from Atheism, but what is of the most pernicious Consequence to Mankind.

M. Boyle maintains, that the Hymn upon Memory was not written by Apollonius, as M. de Tillement thought, but by Simonides, tho' he owns that Suidas seems to ascribe it to Apollonius.

The Preface.

He condemns Mr. Blount's Notes upon Philostratus, for his profane Railery and petty Cavils: And indeed they seem to be as weak, and impertinent a mixture of Vanity, Ignorance, and Profaneness, as has ever appeared in the World. It is a Mistake to think, that the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus is fo formidable a Book that it is not to be ventured among Christians in a Vulgar Language. For it was Printed near a Hundred Years ago at Paris, being translated into French by Vigenere, reviewed and corrected according to the Original Greek by Morellius, and published with large Commentaries of Arthur Thomas Sieur Sieur d'Embry; and the Edition was authorised by the Royal Privilege But these Men had a better Design and a truer Judgment than our Deists, and had a juster sense of the Christian Religion, than to suspect that Men would be seduc'd from it by such Impostures.

Nicomachus, and Tascius Vi-Etorianus were not Writers of Apollonius's Life, but Men of Learning, who corrected the Copies of Philostratus, as they did those of Livy, and of many other Authors And Apollinaris Sidonius did not compose the Life of Apollonius, nor translate it from Philostratus, as his a 4 Words

Words seem to import, but only transcribed it. These seem to be the Reasons, why M. de Tillement mentions no Author of Apollonius's Life but Philofiratus, as M. Boyle takes notice, who thought fit to add Nichomachus, Tascius Victorianus, and Apollinaris Sidonius. But if he had consulted the (b) Notes of Sirmondus upon Sidonius, he would have found cause to omit them, as M. de Tillemont has done, who wrote

(b) Sirmond.
Not. ad Apoll.
Sidon. lib.
VIII. Epist. 3.

I thought it might not be amiss, thus far to mention what M. Boyle has observed upon the

with that Care and Judgment,

that hardly any thing has esca-

ped him.

the Life of Apollonius. And as he has fully declared himself against this Impostor; (x) so (x) Dictionaire Histor. he says, that nothing more in Apulée. evidently shews the impertinent Credulity of the Pagans, than that they have affirmed, that Apuleius did so many Miracles, and that they equal or even surpass those of Jesus Christ.

It may be worth the remarking, that M. de Tillemont, befides what is contained in this
Treatife, does in the Course
of his History of the Emperors
and of his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, find many Faults in the
Life of Apollonius by Philostratus. He supposes, that Philostratus

Ner. An. 12. 13.

(i) L'Emp. Aratus was misled by the (i) Fictions of Lucian, and thinks it more probable, that he wrote in the strain of Romance, than that he can be reconciled to

(k) L'Emp. Truth: And (k) observing from him, that a Woman of Syracuse was delivered of a Child with Three Heads, which was shewn publickly to all that would come to fee it, he adds, that it was no difficult matter for Philostratus to make his Apollonius Divine, that this Monster denoted the Three Emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who were the several Heads of the Roman Empire in less than One Year, and all Three together for fome Hours. He seldom or

(1) never quotes the Life of (1) L'Emp. Apollonius, but with some Ex-Tit. Art. 8.

pression of Distrust, it is pretended, says he, and if we may
believe Philostratus, He (m) (m) L'Emp.
observes, that the Philosophy 19.21.
of Apollonius could easily comply with many Crimes, and that
Philostratus differs in the Account of Domitian's Death from
the Roman Historians without
Reason or Probability.

All that I shall say of what concerns my self, is, to acquaint the Reader, that I had made these Observations upon Apollonius Tyaneus, which are here annext, long before I knew of M. de Tillemont's Account of him, on a particular Occasion.

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The Preface.

And having this Opportunity and hoping they may be of some use, I was not unwilling to suffer them to appear in so good Company.

R. Fenkin.

Adver-

Advertisement.

De Tillemont encloses his own Observations and Remarks in Crotchets [] All the rest is contained in the Authors referred to in the Margin. &c. put sometimes in the inward Margin, is to denote, that the thing is treated of more at large in the Author cited in the other Margin. And because, to fave room, he uses Abbreviations in citing his Authors, he therefore prefixes a Catalogue of them before each Tome. This is all which feems peculiar to him in his manner of citing Authors, and therefore, in this short Work, the Reader needs not be acquainted with what he further says in his Advertisement concerning his Citations; only that in the inward Margin, he sometimes refers to his own History of the Emperors.

A TABLE of the Citations in M. de Tillemont's Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus.

Amm. n. p. A Mmianus Marcellinus ex primâ recensione Henrici Valesii, cum ejusdem Notis. Parisiis anno. 1636.

Apol. v. l. 1. Apollonii Tyanæi Vita per Philostratum.

c. 3. p. 5. d. Parisiis anno 1608.

Arri.ex Epic.1. Arriani Epictetus, seu Commentarii Dis-3. c. 15. p. 220. putationum Epicteti Lugduni anno 1600.

Aug. Ep. B. Augustini Epist. editionis Benedicti-136. p. 401. norum.

Aurel. v. p. Aureliani Augusti Vita per Vopiscum in 217. c. Augusta Historia Parisiis anno 1620.

Bar. 99. S. 12. Baronii Annales anno Christi 99. Paragrapho 12. Antuerpiæ anno 1612.

Ch. Alex. p. Chronicum Alexandrinum a Radero editum Munachii anno 1615.

c. p. 4. b. tes Constantinopolitanæ Luteciæ anno 1655.

Chrysostomi

A Table of the Citations, &c.

To Chrys. in Chrysostomi homilia 3. in Judæos ToJud. h. 3. t. 1.

mo primo ex editione Parisiense anno 1639.

Dio 1. 68. p. Dionis Cassii historiarum libro 68. pag. 785. a. 785. Typis Wechelianis anno 1606.

Godeau. p. Histoire Écclesiastique de M. Godeau, Tome premier pag. 246. a Paris en 1663.

p. 11. 12. losophorum, Genevæ anno 1616.

2. Eus. chr. n. Eusebii Chronicon, cum Scaligeri Notis. p. 129. 1. p. 129. col. I. Lugduni Batav. anno 1658.

3. Eus. Dem. 1. Eusebii de Demonstratione Evangelica.

3. c. 3. p. 105. Parisiis anno 1627.

4. Eus. Prap. 1. De Prapartione Evangelica. Parisis 4. c. 13. p. 150. anno 1628.

s.Eus. in Hier. In Hieroclem lib. cum Philostrato Edi-P. 434. tus Parisiis anno 1608.

Hier. in Is. c. Hieronymus in Isaiæ caput 13. p. 148.

13. p. 548. Tom. 5.

7011.1.3.c. 5. Joannis Jonssi de scriptoribus Historiæ p. 465. Philosophicæ, Francosurti anno 1659.

p. 465. lib. 5. c. 3. Leydæ anno 1660.

Lamp. p. 123. Lampridius in Historià Augusta Parisiis anno 1620.

A Table of the Citations, &c.

Luci. v. Alex. Luciani Vita Alexandri præstigiatoris, p. 476. c. Seu Psuedomantis Edit. Paris. anno 1615.

colaum Lloyd auctum Oxonii anno

1671.

Pears. Post. p. Joannis Pearsonii Episcopi Cestriensis 49. opera Postuma, Londini anno 1688.

Philst. Soph. Philostrati de Vitis Sophistarum cap. 31. p. 568. c. 31. Paristis anno 1608.

Phot. c. 44. Photii Bibliothecæ caput seu codex 44. p. 29. Genevæ anno 1602.

Plin. 1.6. c. 26. Plinii Majoris Historia Naturalis lib. p. 127. e. f. 6. cap. 26. pag. 127. Francosurti anno 1599.

²· Str. 1. 16. Strabonis lib. 16. pag. 738. Parisis p. 738. a. anno 1620.

1. Spart. n. c. Casauboni Notæ in Spartianum & alios p. 229. c. Augustæ Historiæ Scriptores Parisiis

anno 1620.

Suid. a. p. Suidæ Lexicon in litera a. pag. 377. d. Genevæ anno 1619.

n. 83. p. 80. si not. 83. p. 80. Parisis Edit. anno 1608.

voss. h. gr. 1.2. Vossii de Historicis Gracis lib. 2. cap. c. 15. p. 235. 15. Leyda anno 1650.

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ACCOUNT

OFTHE

LIFE

OF

Apollonius Tyaneus,

The Famous

Philosopher and Magician.

By M. Le Nain de Tillemont.

HE Desire, which I have to clear all, that may concern the History of the Church, obliges me to say something of B the

* Godeau. p. 246.

the famous Apollonius Tyaneus] * one of the most dangerous enemies, which at its Birth the Church had, by reason of the feeming Innocence of his Life, and of his Pretence to Miracles.

c. 3. p. 5.d.

* Apoll. v. l. 1. * The Devil, according to his own Panegyrists, seems to have fent him into the World Sabout the same time that Jesus Christ was pleased to appear in it, either to rival his Authority in the Judgment of those, who might take the Delusions of this Magician for true Miracles 7 * Or to the end that those, who had discovered him to be an arrant Cheat and Magician, might be enduced to doubt also of the Miracles of Jesus Christ and his Disciples.

* Godeau. p. 246.

* Hierocles [the noted Enemy See the * Euseb. in of the Christians in the time of Persecu-Mier. p. 434. b. c. |. 483. Diocletian] ventured to make tion of Diocletian. * Aug. Ep. B. this Comparison of Apollonius S. 25. with Jesus Christ, * in which 136. p. 401.

a | . 138. S. 18. some there were, that followed p.417. f. g.

him

him [He was quickly confuted by Eusebius of Casarea, whose Work is still extant, and one may there see part of what may be said on this Subject, which my Design, being only that of an Historian, doth not suffer me to enter upon.]

* The Life of Apollonius was * Apoll. v. I.e. first written by Damis, who was c. 3. p. 4. d. originally of Ninos [or Nineve] the most intimate with him of all his Disciples. * And this * P. 5. Life, which was truly nothing else but Memoirs very indisserently written, falling into the hands of Julia the Empress, the *Wife of Severus, (a) she gave * Voss. h. gr. them to Philostratus; who from 1.2. c. 15. p. these, and from what he could (a) Apoll. v. i. collect out of the Works of 1. c. 2. 3. p. 4. Apollonius himself, and from 5. b. some other Memoirs, compos'd that History, which we now have. (b) He speaks of one (b) Euseb. in Maximus Ægiensis, who had Hier. p. 435. written a Book, concerning Apollonius

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(c) Apoll. v. 1. lonius, and (c) of one Moerage-I. c. 3. p. 5. b. nes, who had written four Books. But he would not concern himfelf with the last, [whose Narrative was not perhaps very favourable to his Hero. I will therefore make a short Abridgment of Philostratus, both to observe the Chronology, and to the end, that we may not be wholly ignorant, what fort of Man this was, whom the Devil made use of, as the notorious Instrument of his Malice and * who was the Ape of Jesus Christ, as a famous Author of our Age calls him.

* Godeau. p. 247.

* If he lived above a Hundred * C. 11. p.18. a | 1.8. c. 12. Years, as some affirm she must p. 428. bl have been born about the fame time with our Saviour, three or four Years, before the common Æra, since we shall find, that he died in the Year 96 of this Hera, or very little after.] * He * Suid. a. p. was born at Tyana in Cappadocia 377. d.

from whence he took the Sur-

name,

name, by which all those that speak of him, distinguish him from other Apollonij] and * he * Apol. v. 1. r. was himself well enough pleased c. 3. p. 5. c. l. to be so called. * His Birth is * P. 366. c. l. described as accompanied with 1. c. 3. 4. p. divers Prodigies, * which Ense- * Euseb. in bius so much the rather derides, Hier. p. 445. because it would have been hard c. d. to find out any Testimonies to confirm them, [tho' if the Devil had told his Mother, that she should have a Devil for her Son, the event sufficiently confirm'd it.] * At fourteen Years of Age * Apol.v. 1. 1. he went to study at Tarsus [the chief City of Cilicia] and * little * C. 5. p. 7. d. after at Ægæ [which is also in p. 8, b.c. Cilicia] It was here, that he learned the Philosophy of Pythagoras of a very debauched Master, named Euxenes: And at * Six- * P. 9. teen Years of Age, in a House in the Country, he entred upon the Pythagorean way of Life, abstaining from Wine, and all forts of Animals, * wearing no +C. 6. p. 10. a. Shoes, suffring his Hair to grow at

* C. 10. p.

17. a.

at its full Length, and putting on no Garments, but such as were of Linnen, that he might be fure to have nothing of any Animal about him. * He declared against Marriage, and lived in perfect Chastity, if we will believe Philostratus. [From his House in the Country] he

*C.6.p.10.a. went to * abide in a Temple of Æsculapius at Ægæ, whither ma-

ny diseased People came for *P. 10.-14. Cure; and from * this time he

c. 9. p. 14. c. began to set up for a Censor and Reformer of others, having a high Opinion of his own

Vertue.

Kachongegafia.

* He lost his Father at the # C. 9. 10. p. 15. b. d. Age of Twenty Years, about the time, when Archelaus King of Cappadocia was accused of Treachery to the || Romans; that is, || See Tibe

about the Year XVII. of the rius. S. 10,

7 C. 10. p. 15. 16.

Æra of Christ] and * some time after, when he was come to Age, he gave part of his Estate to an elder Brother, and having gained

[him by this Liberality,] he reclaimed him from his former debauched Life. He divided also the rest of his Estate to such of his Relations, as were poor, and reserved but a very small part to himself [Behold what a Man would do, who could have no other Design by this Appearance of Vertue, but a vain Complacency in himself, or a yet more vain Esteem from others? * Afterwards he passed five Years * C. 11.p. 18. without speaking [according to the usual Practice of the Pythagoreans] which, he confessed, was very difficult for him to do. * Philostratus says, that even du- * P. 19. 20. ring this Silence, he quelled many Seditions in Cilicia and Pamphilia, especially in Aspendus, the Third City of Pamphylia, where the | Magistrate was like to have been burnt, because some wealthy Men by concealing the Corn had occasioned a Famine.

]] ägzeur.

* C. 12. p. 21. * Afterwards he went to An-23. tioch, to Ephesus, and other Cities, where he took great pains to maintain and restore the Honour, and the Worship of Idols. * He practis'd from that time * P. 22. 3. secret Mysteries, to which he admitted only those, who had passed four Years in Silence. He *C. 13 p. 23. acred the * Lawgiver, and the Master, pretending that he had practised all that he acquired of others: And * he was vain e-* P. 25. b. nough to fay, that he fearched no farther, because he had found out the Truth. He boasted, that he knew all Languages, without having learned them, and that he could enter, even into the Thoughts of Men. Ithat is to fay, that he was either a Magician, or a Lyar, or rather that he was both.

yet but Seven Disciples, who also left him, assoon as he talked

to them, of going to the *Indies* to find out the Philosophers [or rather the Magicians] who from this time had the Name of Bramins or Brachmanes. * It was * c. the Devil, as he says himself, who put him upon this Voyage.

* He parted therefore from An- * c. d. tioch followed only by Two Servants. But at Ninive Damis, whom I have already mentioned, joyned himself to him, and from that time * took large Accounts * P. 25. c. d. of his Actions, and even of his Words. * Philostratus pretends, * C. 14. p. 27. that passing thro' Mesopotamia to c. d. go [from Ninive] into Babylonia, he there learned to understand the Oracles, which the Birds gave out in their singing To that he took a great deal of pains to run thro' the World to get together all the particular Follies of each Country] * He*c. 18. p. 37. came into Babylonia, and there 38. had private Conferences with the

the Magicians, from whom he learned new [Secrets of Magick] as he likewise pretended to have taught them, what they did not know before.

* P. 36.

std. e.

* Philostratus makes him come to Babylon, which he represents to us, as a City of || XXIV. Leagues || 480. Furtin Compass, surrounded with a longs.

Wall, which was a || Furlong || Teia in and a Half in height (for that is his way of measuring) and almost a Furlong broad: And he adds other things, as strange, [I leave it to others to examine, whether it be true, that Babylon was yet a City, and whether Philostratus has not described it at this time, beyond what it was in the time of Nebucadnez-

*Str. l. 16. p. zar]. * According to Strabo it

was yet remaining, having || | 385. Fur-XIX. Leagnes in Circuit, and longs. Walls of the Thickness of XXXII. Feet, * but it was almost wholly deserted, and became daily more and more ruiz

nous

nous. * Pausanias writes, of * Amm. n. p. the time of M. Aurelius, that 267. there remained nothing but the Walls, and the Temple of Belus; and * Trajan, who would * Dio. 1. 68. go to see a Place so famous, p. 785. a. found there almost nothing but Ruines. * Pliny [contemporary * Plin. 1. 6. c. with Apollonius] reduces Babylon 26. p. 127. also to the Temple of Belus, the rest being nothing but Desolation.

* In the Fourth Age, the * Hier. in If. Walls were yet standing, but contained by they served for nothing, but to enclose all sorts of Beasts, which the Parthian Kings kept shut up there, as in a Park, that they might sometimes have the Diversion of Hunting them. * And * Pears. Post. this is the State, to which the P. 49. Prophets had foretold, it should one Day be brought. * Nicator * Plin. p. 127. King of Syria, had purposely e. f. built Selencia upon the Tigris, to dispeople Babylon, and draw all the Inhabitants of it thither.

* Phila-

Y Apol. v. l. I. * Philostratus says, that the c. 19. 38. 40. 1. 3. c. 16. p. King of Parthia was there, when Apollonius arrived, and seems to 153. b. suppose, that it was his Abode, and the Place of his usual Resi-(a) Str. 1. 16. dence, (a) tho' the Parthian p. 743. c. d. Kings had then been accustomed Pearl. Polt. p. to pass the Winter at Ctesiphon, 50. near Seleucia, and the Summer at Echatane. It was (b) Vardanes, (b) Apol. v. 1. p. 29. b. 39. who having a little before recovered the Dominion f from his Brother Gotarzes] reigned afterwards two Years, and two (c) C. 16.24. Months, says Philostratus. (b) Ap. 31. b | 53. pollonius passed XX. Months at (d) L. 3. c.15. his Court, and (d) he remained 16. p. 153. b. upon the Throne about VI. c. 157. b. Months after, according to the fame Author [altho' according to Tacitus Vardanes, could not have reigned more than Two Years, in 47. 48. and 49.] and E. 8. c. 3. even * according to another p. 398. c. Account of Philostratus, Apollonius must not have made these

Voyages, till the end of the || See Clau-Reign of || Claudius [about the dius, note Year Year 54. when Vologesus was King of the Parthians.

* Apollonius leaves Babylon, and * L. 2. c. 115. the Court of Vardanes towards p. 57. c | 104; the Summer, to go by Land to the Indies [where he was very well received by a King, whose Name was Phraotes, of whom Philostratus tells strange things.] * Phraotes has him conducted to * C. 15. p. Hiarchas, the chief of the Brach- 105.1.3.c. 9: manes, who then were but p. 136. c. d. XVIII. in Number. [I shall report nothing of that, which Philostratus says passed between them; it is sufficient to say, that if the Relation of this Author have any thing of Truth in it, these Brachmanes were no Gods] * as they had the Insolence to * L. 3. c. 6. pretend, [but were infamous p. 124. b. c. Magicians: And there is no reafon to doubt, confidering the Esteem, which Apollonius afterwards expresses always for them, that in the Conferences, which he had with them, where Damis himself

himself was present, he had learned new ways of conversing with Devils, and bringing Hell upon Earth.] * He leaves them * C. ig. p. 153. b. c. at the end of four Months, and (a) P. 154.d. (a) embarking return'd by Sea, to the (b) Mouth of Euphrates [or (b) C. 16. p. rather of Tigris,] from thence ¥57. b. to Babylon, afterwards to Ninive, and at last to Antioch. * It ap-* C. d. pears, that they had no great Value for him at Antioch. This was the Cause, why he came into Jonia [where he afterwards made his principal Residence, fometimes at Ephesus, and sometimes at Smyrna.]

* L. 4. c. t.

* He was admired at Ephesus,
the Devils themselves contributing to it by their Oracles, which
they gave out in his Favour.

*P. 159. b. c. * It is pretended, he reclaimed this City from Idleness, from the Love of Dancing, and from other Fooleries, to which it was much

* D. | 160. addicted, and that he * endeavour'd to bring the Inhabitants to be friendly to one another. * He laboured in like manner in * P. 161. a. the other Cities of Jonia, to reform the manners of the People and to * establish Unity among them] * C. 2. p. 162. For the Devil, whom some of 163. the Fathers have called the Ape of God, and who would be well contented, that Men should be a little more regular in their outward Behaviour, provided they were but impious in neglecting the Worship of their Creator; attempted by his Apollonius, what Jesus Christ had done by his Apostles; to ruine, if he could, the Renown, which the Reformation of Manners gave to the Preaching of the Gospel.]

From Jonia Apollonius went * C. 28. p. to Ilium, and (a) embarked in 165. 166.

Autumn to (b) go for Lesbos, 168. a. and from thence to Atkens, (c) (b) P. 169. alwhere feeing the People much (c) C. 6. p. addicted to Sacrifices, he applied 175. c. d. himself to give them Rules, to forbid (d) Dancing, and abolish (d) C. 7. p. the c. & p. 180.

the cruel Spectacles of the Gladiators. He made divers Voyages into Greece, labouring every where to restore the ancient Superstitions of Idolatry.

* C. 8. p. 181. * The Elians invited him to a. b. their Games, which they were to celebrate for the [210] Olympiad [in the LXI. Year of Christ,] seven Years before Nero cut the * d. Corinthian Isthmus. * Passing to Corinth he there gained for his Admirers, Demetrius the most famous Cynick of that time, and * P. 182. a c. his Scholar * Menippus. io. p. 189. a said, that with one Word he brought back the Lacedæmonians to their Ancient manner of Life [but who will believe it?] *He * C. 10. p. 188. c. made mighty Exhortations upon every Vertue at the Olympick Games.

* P. 189. a. * C. 11. p. 192. a. * He came from thence to Lacedæmon, and * there continued till the end of Winter. In Spring he came to Crete, having formerly

merly defigned from thence to go to Rome, and he actually came thither at his leaving Crete, Twhere it is not said, that he staid any long time. So that he must have come to Rome after the Year LXII.] In * the mean * C. 13. p. while Philostratus says, that he 199. d. came thither under the Consulship of Telesinus [which is the LXVI. Year, to which all that follows, has more Agreement than to the Year LXII. His Historian relates at length what he did there sand that too which he did not] and * informs us, * C. 16. p. that Nero having ordered, when 208. he was in Greece sin the Year LXVI.] that all the Philosophers should depart from Rome, Apollonius went to Cadis at the farther end of Spain, to learn there also new Secrets [of Magick.]

* Philostratus makes it a Point * L. 5. c. 3. of Merit in him, that at Cadis 12. p. 217. he stirred up the Governour of the Country against Nero: And the other Philosophers made no

more

more Scruple of it than he [there being no other but the Christian Religion, which teaches us to consider Men, not as they are in themselves, but in that Order, wherein God hath placed them, and never to violate the Obligations, which we have en-

*C. 3. p. 218. tred into.] * During the Insur-

rection [of Vindex and Galba]
against Nero, Apollonius went in In the
to Africa, into Tuscany, and into Year
Sicily, where he was informed
of the Death of Nero [which
happened in June LXVIII.]

*C.6. p. 224. * When he had made some stay there, he went into Achain 1. in 1.

*C. 7. p. 225. the beginning of October. * The

Spring following he passed into In the Egypt, (a) where he was visited Year by a great many Men of his own Strain, at Alexandria, and in the

upper Egypt.

*C. 9. p. 233. * Vespasian also came thither 234. c. d. [at the end of the Year LXIX.] and Philostratus would make us

Iloyd. p.

1. About the Rifing of Archurus, which rifes about 50 Days after the Dog-Star.

believe.

believe, that he came thither to fee Apollonius, who would not come to him in Judea. Apollo-b. nius waited for him in a Temple, but would not stir out to meet him. * Vespasian did him great * C. 10. p. Honour, and advised with him 235. | 237. in private, concerning the State of his Affairs: [for this Prince, in other things a great Man, had the Weakness to give Credit to Diviners] * Dion and Euphrates, * C. 11. 12. two Famous Philosophers would p. 238. 246. have perswaded him to renounce the Empire, when he had put Vitellius to flight, and to re-establish the Commonwealth. Apollonius argued the Case with them,

* which occasioned a great Quar- * C. 14. p.
rel. * Apollonius at the same time * C. 13. p. gave divers Rules to Vespasian in 247. 248. order to his good Government, and some of them were very good, * but he would not hearken * C. 14. p. to them.

^{*} Vespasian leaves him at Alex. * P. 250. c. andria, when he went [to Rome C 2 about

* C. 15. p.

255. a.

about the middle of the Year LXX. if we may rely upon some Expressions of Philostratus, who after his usual manner is here confused enough, not to say, he contradicts himself] * That which is clear is, that Apollonius went from Alexandria to go see the rest of Egypt, and the Philosophers of Ethiopia, upon whom Philostratus bestows the Name of Gymnosophists [which others give to those of India.] Of the *Thirty Disciples which he then

*P. 255.256. *Thirty Disciples, which he then had, Ten only followed him in this Journey, and the others

chose rather to stay at Alexandria.

* L. 6. c. 4. * p. 265. 266. G

* C. 12. p. 299.

* P. 301.

* C. 14. p. 304. d.

* He was but ill received by the Gymnosophists, who had been prejudiced against him by Enphrates [but afterwards they became Friends, and had great Conferences together] * which Apollonius broke off, to go see the Head of Nile. * He was as far as the third Caterect. * He returned into Egypt about the same time, that Titus took Jerusalem

[the VIIIth. of September in the Year LXX.] * Titus returned to * P. 30. 5. d. Rome [the Year following] and Apollonius went to meet with him at Argos.

* He afterwards made divers * C. 15. p. Voyages into Phanicia, into Ci-310. a. b.1. 8. licia, into Jonia, into Greece, 403. into Italy, and to Rome. (a) He (a) L. 6. c. 17. was also in Hellespontus; where he pretended to stop Earthquakes [and perhaps he came at the same time to Byzantium] (b) (b) Codin. Orig. where, as we read, he placed c. p. 4. b. Three * Storks of Stone to hin- * P. 61. 62. der those Birds from coming thither; Gnats of Copper, Fleas, Flies, and other Insects, to the same end; which Basilius the Emperor caused to be removed; and * many other Figures, which * P. 36. d. 1 shewed, they fay, what was to befal that City, to the end of the World. * The Chronicon Alexan- * chron. Alex. drinum says, that he came with p. 590. this intent in the Year XCIII. and that wherever he went in C 3 the

* C. f. l. 7. c.

4. p. 327. b.

the Cities, or in the Country, he placed such sorts of Figures and of Talismans.

TEX TO MA TOL.

* He endeavoured to sir up * Apoll. v. 1. 7. c. 2.-4.p.323 all the World against Domitian, 326. particularly Nerva, who succeeded him in the Empire. (c) Do-(c) C. 4. p. 326. b. mitian was told of his Attempts of this Nature, and (d) it was (d) C. 5. 10. told him besides, that he had p. 329. b. 344. 345. 1.8. also sacrificed a Child, not far from Rome, to discover by the Entrails, the Knowledge of Events, in favour of Nerva.

* Upon this Domitian gives * C. 3. p. 400. 4 16. Order to the * Governour of Asia * C. 4. 5. p. to seize upon Apollonius, who 326. d | 330. d. was then in that Province, and to send him to him. But Apollonius prevented this Order, and * of himself came into Italy, * P. 327. b. 328. c. d. at the time, when Domitian drove 329. a. out all the Philosophers from (e) L. 8. c. 3. thence [that is to fay, in XCIV. or XCV.] tho'Philostratus (e) *sets See Domip. 398.

it a little sooner. He finds Deme-tian, n. 9:

trius

trius the Cynick at Puteoli, who advised him to be gone immediately, if he would save his Life. But he *answered, that he could * C. 6. p. not depart, unless he would be 334. c. d. tray Nerva, whom Domitian had then banished, and that he was well assured, that as for his own part, the Tyrant could not put him to Death. * He therefore * C. 8. p. embarked again for Rome, in the 340. c. d. Habit of a Philosopher, which yet he caused Damis to lay aside, who was the only Companion of his Voyage, that he might not be taken up with him.

* Assoon as Apollonius arrived * P. 341. a. at Rome [Casperius] Ælianus the Captain of the Guards, who was his Friend, * was nevertheless * C. 9. p. obliged to have him seized. He 10. p. 342. spoke to him in private, under a 345. pretence of examining him, to give him Instructions in order to his Defence; and afterwards * having spoken of him to the * P. 345.346. Emperor * he sent him [by his * C. 11. p. C. 4 Order] p. 351. c.

Order] to a Prison, where he was free [and without Chains] (a) P. 349. a. with Fifty other Prisoners, (a) one 350. of whom told him, that when he had but little, he lived contentedly, under no Fear, but when he became very rich, and had a great Estate fall'n to him, he became at the same time miferable, being obliged for his own Preservation to flatter, to enrich first one, then another, reduced to fear his own Servants, and at last used as a Criminal. * Apollonius comforted * C. 12. p. him, and the rest, as well as he could, being cautious of saying any thing against Domitian, who had his Spies there.

350.354.

* C. 12. - 14. * Six Days after, he was sent p. 354. 359. for to Domitian, who presently (b) C. 14. p. (b) examined him in Relation 360, 361. to Nerva: And Apollonius denied stifly, that Nerva had ever so much as dreamt of a Conspiracy, or of being Emperor, * tho' his * C. 3. p. 325. d. Historian says the contrary.

* Upon

* Upon this Domitian in a Rage, * C. 14. p. ordered his long Beard to be cut 362. a. off, and his Hair of his Head, and fent him back to Prison loaden with Chains. * He conti- * C. 15. p. nued two Days in this Condi-363.b. tion, (a) out of which Domitian (a) C. 17. p. himself delivered him, at the 368. d. Petition of Ælianus, and permitted him, as before, to be a Prisoner at large. * Whilst he + C. 15. p. was in Chains he assured Damis, 366. 367. who followed him into the Prifon, that Domitian could do him no hurt, and to shew him what he could do, he freed his Leg from the Chain, which was faltned about it, and then put his Leg into the Chain again.

* At the end of five Days, he * c. 17. 368. was fent for to appear before Do-d | 369.b. mitian, (b) in the Presence of (b) L. 8. c. 2. his whole Court: And (c) after he (c) P. 375. d. had asked some Questions, with 377. out pressing any thing hard upon him, (d) Domitian declared him (d) P. 377. c. innocent of all, that had been

laid to his Charge, and notwithstanding, ordered him to continue there, till he had difcoursed with him in private. Philostratus gives us no Intimation from whence this extraordinary Kindness should come: He only * adds, that Apollonius when he had thanked Domitian in one Word, prayed him to consider, how much Mischief the Informers brought upon the Empire, and to give him an Opportunity [to discourse with him upon this Subject,] and then added, " If * not, send one to apprehend me: For as to my Soul, no Person in the World shall be Master of it. I might ec also say, that you shall be as " little Master of my Body, and that you shall not take my " Life from me, because this is " not my Fate. After these * C. 4. p. 410. Words, says Philostratus, he was (e) L. 7. c. 17. seen no more in the Asp. 369. c. 1. 8. sembly, and * he was the same c. 4. p. 409. Evening at Puteoli, (e) which

was

* d.

* P. 378. a.

was three Days Journey from thence. Domitian said nothing upon this occasion: But it was observed, that being to enquire into another Affair he appeared much disturbed in his Mind [I was resolved to relate this Event, which is the most remarkable in the whole Life of Apollonius, in the very Expressions of his Historian, who took little Care to make it appear credible, or had but ill Luck in it.]

* Apollonius went afterwards * C. 6. p.415. into Sicily at the beginning of Autumn, and from thence to Olympia in Peloponesus, * whither * P. 416. Philostratus says, they came from all parts of Greece to see him [Domitian in the mean time, not concerning himself to have him apprehended] He spent [almost]
Two Years * in divers Parts of * C. 9. p.423. Greece, being always followed d. by vast numbers of young People, (a) whom he lead into (a) P. 422. Places remote from Noise, and b. c. distant

distant from the Lawyers; for he looked upon them as the cause of the Evils, which were then so much suffered, by the false Accusations, which their Eloquence fastned upon the most innocent Persons. From Greece

*C.9. p. 423. * he passed into Jonia [at the beginning of the Year XCVI] where he went thro' divers Cities, being usually at Smyrna, and Ephesus. * It was in the last, that it is pretended, he saw the Death of Domitian the moment, when he was killed *.

* C. 10. p. 425. 426.

* C. 11. p. 426. 427.

* Nerva, who succeeded Do-Domitian, mitian, wrote to Apollonius im- S. 21. mediately, to entreat him to come to him, and affist him with his Advice. But he declared by the Answer, he returned, that they were never to be together till Death.

* P. 427. a. b. * Some time after, he wrote to him a Letter, in which he gave him many Directions rela-

ting to Government, and he sent it by Damis, who moreover might give him Instructions by word of Mouth. The * Event made Damis believe, that he had fent him into Italy, that he might not be present at his Death [which is supposed to have happened at the end of the Year XCVI. or at the beginning of 1. XCVII.] * Damis had left no 1. Intimations of the manner of * C. 12. p. his Death, in his Memoirs, and nothing certain was known of it in the time of Philostratus. * Some said that he died at Ephe- * c. d. Sus in the Arms of his two Maidfervants [who in the mean while give us no Tidings of what became of the vast Number of Disciples, which he had had.] * Others related, that coming * P. 429. into a Temple, either at Lindus [in the Isle of Rhodes] or at Dictynna in that of Crete, he

cording to the Alexandr. Chron. p. 598.

,* C. 13. p. 431. d.

disappeared, and to this they added divers Prodigies. lostratus assures us, that tho' he had feen many Countries, he never could find out his Tomb any where, and Apollonius had often faid, that he would die without any ones knowing it, to the end, that he, as Empedocles, might be thought immortal [So that] * we have great Reason to believe, that his Death was Tragical, according to what Lucian says, * who styles the lex. p. 476. c. whole History of Apollonius a Tragedy.

* Luci. v. A-

* Bar. 99. S.

12.

[This Abridgment, which I have made, of his Life is amplified by Philostratus with Abundance of Prophecies and Miracles, which * Apoll. v. 1.4. he ascribes to him. * He has observed among other Miracles, the Resurrection of a young Woman of a Consular Family, and just then upon her Marriage; but he

durst not be confident, that she

was quite dead. And indeed * if

* Euseb. in Hier. p. 461.

c. 16. p. 206.

this

this Miracle were true, it must have been much more famous than it was, as Eusebius has obferved [All these Prodigies depend upon the Authority of Phistratus] who, * Eusebius as-* P. 436. c. fures us, had more Learning than either Exactness or Love for Truth. * One may certainly * Tac. hi. 1. 3. perceive by many Instances, that n. 85. p. 80. he had not sufficient Knowledge of the Roman History, wherein he makes abundance of Mistakes, as Lipsius has remarked [and that he contradicts himself in many places. Nothing is less probable than what, he says, passed between Apollonius and Domitian and * Eusebius maintains, that * Euseb. in it were easy to shew, that a great dier. p. 467. part of his Narratives are | inconsistent one with another, or are easily confuted, and that they are no better than Fable and Romance. So that he does not doubt to affirm, that his whole Work is full of Fictions and Falshoods. * Photius, who has p. 29. · briefly

ov surovi

* P. 32.

briefly related part of the Matters of Fact contained in this History, rejects many of them, as impertinent Fables, and * terms the whole Work an unprofitable Labour. [It is therefore with Rea-

* Aug. L. Ep. son, that] * St. Austin maintains, 49. p. 781. d. that all, which is said of the Miracles of Apollonius, has no

Author of Credit to vouch for || Nullo fide them * St. Charles from also as li authore.

*Chrys.in Jud. them. * St. Chrysostom also as-li auctore.
h. 3. t. 1. p. serts, that they are mere Lyes
*Suid. a. p. and Delusions. * Suidas speaks
376. e. to the same Purpose [To which]

if we would add the Opinions of the most Learned of latter

* Euseb. in Chr. n. p.

191. 1.

Times] * Scaliger says, that all the vain Prodigies, which Philostratus reports of his Impostor,

have not so much as the Appear-

* Vost. h. gr. ance of Truth. * Vives, and l. 2. c. 15. p. Vossius, who tollows him, treat c. p. 229. 2. s. him with no greater Respect, no more does Casaubon.

[However, tho' we should grant the Truth of the Facts, which he reports, yet one could not

not read them without taking notice, that they are the Works of the Devil and of Magick, and not of Divine Power, as Philostratus attempts in several Places to perswade us. This is the Opinion, which the Pagans had of Apollonius, both in the time of his Life, and after his Death: For even those, who were not his Enemies, * refused *Apoll. v. 1.48 oftentimes to admit him to their a | b. 1. 8. c. Mysteries, looking upon him as 8. 12. p. a Magician and a Demoniack: 420. c. | (a) This is the Judgment which (a) L. 1. c. 3. many even in the time of Philo- p. 3. a. stratus himself passed upon him. * Lucian speaking of one of his * Luci. in most intimate Disciples, attri-Alex. p. 476: butes this to him as his chief Quality, that he was a noted Magician, and made Profession of it. * The Abridgment of * Dio. 1. 77.

Dion by Xiphilin says, that Caracalla loved him, because he was a Cheat, and a compleat Magician. [Besides this Quality, he had such a Vanity, as could suit With

* Apoll. v. l. 1. C. 19. p. 28. C.

with none but a Devil 7 * Before his Journey into the Indies, when the Image of the King of Parthia was shewn him, that he might pay him the usual Honours, he used these Words: " He whom you adore, will be " very happy, if he deserve my " Esteem, and my Praise: He * imagined himself endued with all kinds of Vertue, and would have others believe it. * looked upon himself as the Master, the Teacher, and the Censor of the whole World [and this is the Character, which one may say, was predominant in his whole Life | * He boasted that he understood all things, and (c) knew even things to come. (d) He was not ill pleafed to be reverenced as a God, (e) L. 7. c. 10. and (e) suffered Divine Worship to be paid him. And if upon (f) one occasion he would not suffer Divine Honours to be given him; it was, says his Hi-

storian, because it might prove

Al-

invidious.

* C. 14. p. 26. c.

* C. 15. p. 28. C.

* L. 7. C. 6. p. 334. b. c.

(c) L. i. c. 20. p. 43.d. (d) L. 8. c. 2. p. 376. c. p. 346. b. c. I. C. 13. p. 25. C. · * (f) L. 4. c. 10. p. 189, a.

Altho' he * boasted of him-*L. 1. c. 10. self, as excelling in every Ver-p. 17. &c. tue, and Philostratus every where extols the Purity of his Lite, and his Disengagement from the World, he has * nevertheless * L. 7. c. 14. been accused of loving Money p. 361. c. too well [and he who would receive no Gifts from Kings and Emperors] * one Day finding his * L. 8. c. 6. Stock but low, asked at one clap p. 417.c. Thou-of an Idolatrous Priest near Five Hundred Livres. * St. Au- * Aug. Ep. B. gustin seems to allow the Hea-138. S. 18. p. thens, that he was better, at 418. a. 1. 5 s. least, than their Jupiter: * Not- * Apol. v. l. 1. withstanding, common Fame has c. 10. p. 17.b. accused him also of being by no means chast, and (a) some par-(a) Philst. ticular Stories are told of him. Soph. 31. p. * Lucian informs us, at least, * Luci. v. Athat his Disciples, who were his lex. p. 476. greatest Confidents, were Men of abominable Lives.

achme.

oney

[His Belief of a Metempsychosis, which Philostratus in several places, ascribes to him, is fit

only for a Mind capable of the idlest Fancies, as well as the Folly, which he was guilty of * Apol. v. l. s. in * adoring the Lion, in whom

c. 15. p. 254. 255.

he pretended the Soul was of

* L. 4. C. Z. p. 161. b. c.

Amasis formerly King of Egypt [There appears also a strange Baseness of Mind] in the * severe Reprimand, which he gave to the Men of Smyrna, because in a Deed figned by divers Perfons, there were the Names of one Lucallus and others, that are not Greek [In the most important Occasions, he amused himself in talking of the Course of Nile, and of other things, that deserve not to take up the Thoughts of a Philosopher.

Philostratus excuses, as well as he can, his Disputes with the Philosopher Euphrates, upon whom he would cast all the Blame. [But either the same Author in another Work, or

* Phill. Soph another Philostratus] * who had 31. p. 568. d. seen the Life of Apollonius, and who

who refers to it, (a) confesses, (a) C. 7. p. that neither the one, nor the 492. a. the other of them behaved himself in that Debate like a Philosopher. Besides, (b) whatever Apollonius (b) Euseb. in and Philostratus say to decry Eu-465. phrates, (c) he did not fail ne-(c) P. 465. vertheless to be in general Esteem b. c. Two Hundred Years after his Death, as the most famous and most excellent Philosopher of his Age. * Apollonius himself * P. 463.464. speaks of him to Vespasian in thele Terms, without foreseeing, as much a Prophet, as they would have us believe, he was, that he should soon after exclaim against him, as a covetous Man, a Slanderer, and one of the most wicked Men in the World. [The younger Pliny, who had no Kindness for such Men] * extols *Plin. 1. 1. Ep. Euphrates very highly, and he 10. p. 25. 30. knew him throughly. (d) Epi-(d) Arri. Epic. Retus in Arrian doth not only 1.3. c. 15. p. extreamly esteem his Eloquence, but (e) commends him moreo-(e) L. 4. c. 8. very much, because he had of a p. 489. 490,

Stc.

D 3 long

time undertaken to lead the Life

c. d.

p. 430. b.

of a Philosopher, before he took (f) Dio. 1. 69, the Habit. (f) He died, as a p. 791. d. Stoick, at the | beginning of the | About

Reign of Adrian, by whose Per-the Years mission he took Hemlock, to put an end to the Troubles of his

Disease and of his Old Age.

* Apol. v. l. 1. * He wrote some Books against c. 10. p. 17. c. Apollonius, which Philostratus pro-(g) Eun. Pref. mised to confute. (g) Eunapius p. 11. 12. feems to assign to him some others of more Importance, and which gave him a great Reputation. He informs us, that he was an Egyptian.

The Esteem, which the Devils had procured Apollonius, did not end soon after his Death; God permitted, that to come to pass, which they had told him] * Apol. v. 1. 3. by the * Brachmanes, if we may c. 15. p. 153. believe Philostratus, That in the Opinion of many he should both living and dead pass for a God. * The little Account, which was * L. 8. c. 13. given of his Death, made his

Fellow

Fellow Citizens of Tyana believe, that he was become immortal, and they * erected a Temple to *L. 1. c. 4. him near their City. (b) His (b) Aurel. v. Image was also in other places p. 217. c. set up in many Temples, and (i) the Emperours [instead of (i) Apol. v. l. putting a stop to this new Su-8. c. 13. p. perstition] encouraged it by the Honours they did themselves pay to this Impostor. (k) Adrian(k) C. 8. p. got together in his Palace at 421. c. Antium all his Letters, that were to be found. (1) Antoninus (1) Dio 1. 77. Caracalla loved him, honoured p. 878. him, and even built a Temple to

him, || as to a Hero. Heav.

The (m) Emperor Alexander (m) Lamp. In Lara-had his Image in a || private p. 123. c. place of his Palace among those of Jesus Christ, of Abraham, and the best Princes [and this Medly pleased the Devil] * Vopiscus * Vopisc. Aur. says, that he had read in Me-v.p. 217.b. c.d | n. c. p. moirs, and had heard it from 229. e.f. grave Persons, that Aurelian being resolved to plunder the City of Tyana, saw Apollonius stand D 4 before

before him, who forbad him to do it: Whom he obeyed and promised Apollonius, an Image, a Temple, and Statues. Vopiscus does not say whether he fulfilled his Vow, and he doth not so much as vouch this Apparition for certain, tho' he relates it purposely to do Apollonius Honour; for whom he expresses as great Esteem, as a Heathen could have, who upon the Ruine of his false Religion, could find nothing, but the Impostures of this Magician to oppose to the true Miracles of Jesus Christ. He likewise had a Design to write his Life in Latin, as [Philostratus] had done in Greek, to the end, says he, that his admirable Actions may be known by all the World. * Eusebius testifies, that in his time, there were some, who pretended to Enchantments, in which they used the Name of Apollonius.

* Euseb. in Hier. p. 476.

> [However, this pretended Divinity supported both by Earth

and

and Hell was of so little Continuance] * that from the be- * Last. 1. s. ginning of the fourth Age, what-c. 3. p. 465. ever he was, they did not honour him as a God: * Tho' it * P. 468. is pretended, that the Ephesians still worshipped his Statue, but under the Name of Hercules, and not under his own, because it was certain, that he was but a Man, and no better than an Impostor. *Eu- * Eus. in Hier. sebius also assures us, that scarce p. 468. a. any Person acknowledged Apollonius any longer, not as a God, or as an extraordinary and admirable Man, but even barely as a Philosopher. * Whilst Je- * P. 435.436. sus Christ made his Glory manifest, throughout all the Earth, in despite of the Attempts, which all the World had made for three Hundred Years to oppose him. [Eunapius, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth Age, would gladly have restored]

* the Reputation, then extinct or. 3. t. 1. p.
and vanished of his Hero: (a) 418. For he says of him, that he was (a) Eun. Praf.

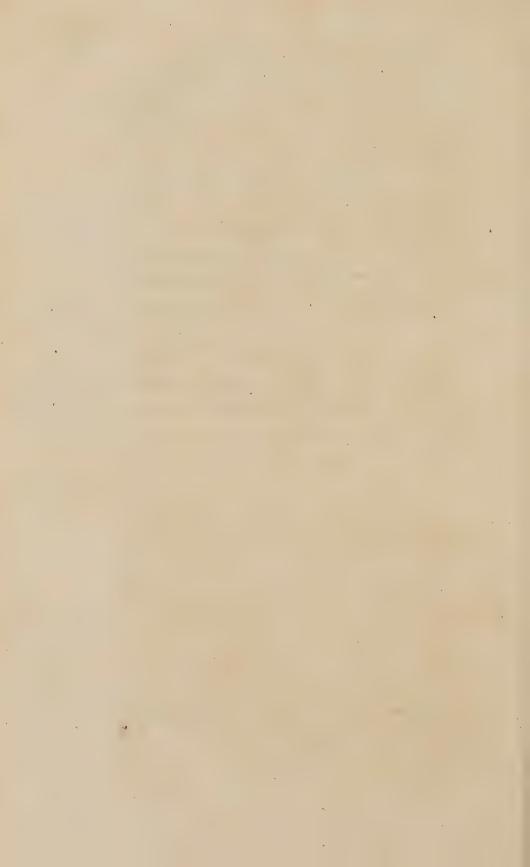
Sec.

not so much a Philosopher, as something between a God and a Man, and that Philostratus ought to have entitled his History, which he wrote concerning him, The Descent of a God upon Earth [But the time of the Reign of Devils was past, and the true Mediator must now alone be acknowledged as God by Men.]

[Philostratus has preserved us some Letters of Apollonius, which * Apol. v. l. 8. are very short] * with a pretty c. 3. p. 379. long Apology, that he had frac. 2. p. 378. c. med to speak before Domitian, * Eus. in Hier. * his pretended Spirit of Prop. 471. d. phecy giving him no Information, that Domitian would allow him no time to make use of it, and that the pains, which he took in composing it would be * Apol. v. l. 1. in vain. [Besides his Apology] c. 2. p. 4. c and a * great Number of Letters Suid. a. p. 476. c. addressed to all sorts of Persons, (b) Apol. v. 1. (b) he had written four Books . 2. C. 13. p. #47. d. concerning Judicial Astrology, 11 mei uni (c) d. 1.4. s. 6. p. 175.d. and one of Sacrifices, to direct reine assigner,

what

what ought to be offered to each God [that is, to each Devil] to please him. The first of these Works was little taken notice of, but the second became exceeding famous. * Eusebius cites a Pasteus Prap. 1.4. sage of it, (d) Suidas also takes (d) Suid. a. notice of it, and moreover men-p. 376. e. tions his Will, his Treatise of Oracles, * his Life of Pythagoras * Jons. 1.3. c. and an * Hymn on Memory. * Ajol. v. 1. 1. His Theology, whereof * Euse-c 11. p 18. bius cites a Passage [is probably * Eus. Dem. 1. the same with his Work concer-3. c. 3. p. 105. ning Sacrifices.]



OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

LIFE

OF

Apollonius Tyaneus.

HE first mention, which we find of Apollonius Tyaneus is in (a) Lucian, who (a) Lucian takes notice of him upon an infa-Psuedo Mantmous Occasion, and in the worst Company. The next time we meet with him is in Philostratus, who lived

lib. 1. c. 3.

lived above an Hundred Years after him, and at that distance of Time, undertook to write his Life from (b) Vit. Apoll. some (b) Memoirs of Damis, who had been a Companion of Apollonius; and from an Account of Maximus Agiensis, relating only to Two or Three of the younger Years of his Life; besides some Remains of Apollonius himself.

He rejects what Moeragenes had written of Apollonius, as of no Authority, without affigning his Reasons for it: But we may be satis-(c)Orig. contr. fied from (c) Origen, that Moera-Cels. lib. 6. gange had non-Control of the Moeragenes had represented Apollonius, as a Magician, the Odium whereof Philostratus endeavoured by all means to remove. The Memoirs of Damis, upon which Philostratus grounds all the Material Parts of his History, he declares were never before heard of, but were then newly brought to the Empress Julia Domna, who appointed Philostratus to put them into a better Style. And she is with great Reason supposed posed by a very (d) Learned and (d) Bp. Wor-Excellent Author, to put him upon to Dr. Bentley. this Work to oppose the Christian Religion, and at the same time by the Example of the Magi, to countenance her own Wickedness with her Son Caracalla. Tho' I am not ignorant, that what Spartian, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius say of her Incest with Caracalla, is by other Learned Men (f) looked upon as a (f) Mr. Wotton's Hist. of Mistake, because Herodian and Dion Rome, &c. p. Cassius mention nothing of it.

However, as Enselins (e) observes, (e) Euseb. in no Author before Hierocles, had in Hier. any Writing against the Christians, ever pretended to make the blasphemous Comparison between our Saviour Christ and Apollonius. So that from the time of Domitian, where Philostratus concludes his Story, to the Reign of Diocletian, under whom Hierocles wrote, none of the Enemies of the Gospel durst offer at so vain as well as wicked an Attempt.

And Eusebius did so fully consute Hierocles, by exposing the Fables and Absurdities of Philostratus in the Life of Apollonius, that from that time to our own Age, his History, it seems, has scarce had Credit enough with any of the worst Enemies of our Religion to be produced by them.

But since this foolish Legend is now again insisted upon, it may be fitting briefly to shew, how much this exposes the Cause, which it is brought to maintain, and the Men who make use of it. For it is, I think, impossible for any Man, that is not given up to believe a Lye, to mistake the Life of Apollonius written by Philostratus for true History. I shall first shew the manifest Falshoods in this Account of his Life, and will then prove, that tho' this Account were granted to be true, yet it would not serve the Defign for which the Enemies of Christianity produce it.

I. I shall discover the manifest Falshoods in Philostratus's Life of Apollonius. (f) His Life is begun (f) Lib. 1. c. very suitably to the following 3. 4. Course of it, by telling us, that when his Mother was with Child of him, Proteus appeared to her, to acquaint her that he, the said Proteus, was to be born of her, and there was a Melody of Swans heard at his Birth.

(g) Damis, upon his first Ac-(g) Lib. I. c. quaintance with Apollonius, offered 13. II. c. 11. quaintance with Apollonius, offered 13. II. c. 3. VI. him his Service, as an Interpreter to c. 5. 9. 10. him in his Travels: But Apollonius told Damis, he needed none; for he understood not only all the Languages, but even the Thoughts of Men, and yet afterwards we find him making use of an Interpreter. Indeed he had less occasion for an Interpreter than one would imagine in those remote Countries: For the Indian Princes spoke Greek, and the Inhabitants of whole Towns spoke the same Tongue. He found the Indians very skilful in all the Grecian E Customs,

Customs, and History, and Philosophy. And it was the same thing, when he came into Athiopia; the Gymnosophists were as expert in all the Grecian Learning, as Apollonius himself could be, and discoursed as well of it, as Philostratus could make them.

Philostratus brings Apollonius to Rome in the Consulship of Telesinus, and then makes him foretel what was to befal Nero by a Flash of Lightning; but this must have happened Six Years before that Time, as (x) Baronius has observed from Tacitus.

(x) Baron. Annal. LXVIII. c.30.

(h) Lib. V. c. 10. 11.12.13. 14. VI. 14.15. VII. c. 3.

The (h) long Discourses, which Apollonius is represented to have had with Vespasian, who came into Egypt to be advised by him; the Counsel Apollonius gave him; his Consutation of the Opinion of Dion and Euphrates, and his Reasons whereby he perswaded Vespasian to take upon him the Empire; the strange Esteem and Kindness, that Emperor had for him, insomuch that he desired his Company

Company to Rome, and when Apollonius alledged, that he was resolved to visit the Gymnosophists of Æthiopia, then Vespasian offered him Ten Gifts at present, saying, that all should be his, if he would but come to Rome; the Intimacy, which is pretended by his Letters to Vefpasian and Titus, and by that of Vespasian to him, his Discourse with Titus, his appointing Demetrius the Cynick to attend Titus as his constant Counsellour, when we have Reason to believe that (i) Vespasian (i) Suet. had no Favour or Esteem for this Vespas. c. 13. Philosopher; his Familiarity with Nerva, his Tryal before Domitian, with the manner, and strange Circumstances of it; all these things must be looked upon as no better than mere Fiction, since there is no ground to believe them from the Roman Authors, and most of them are so memorable, and of such publick Concernment, that they could not be omitted by them, if they had been true; they take up a great part of the History of Apollonius's E 2

Life, his Discourses with Vespasian were in the Temple as Philostratus makes him say, and of so great Importance, that Vespasian, as he would make us believe, owed his Possession of the Empire to Apollonius. And could nothing of all this find any place in the Roman Historians, which appears in such large and shining Characters in the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus? How should all these things be concealed from Suetonius? How should Dion Cassius be ignorant of them?

Suetonius was an inquisitive, impartial Historian; Tacitus made it his Business to search into the secret Politicks and Mysteries of State, Dion gives an ample Account of the Debate between Agrippa and Mæcenas, whether Augustus should accept of the Empire, or decline it: And he mentions Apollonius several times, and would not have omitted on this occasion to speak

of him, if he had believed the Stories of Philostratus: Yet neither Suetonius, nor Tacitus, nor Dion, mention the Conferences held by Apollonius, whether Vespasian should refuse the Empire, nor the frequent Correspondencies and long Discourses, which, as Philostratus acquaints us, Apollonius had, and commonly upon the most important Affairs, with Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Nerva: But (*) Dion upon ano-(*) Dio in ther occasion, calls him an Impostor Anton. Canada Magician.

(k) Philostratus sets down a long (k) Lib. I. Speech, which he informs us, Apol. c. 13. VII. 6. lonius had prepared, and designed to use at his Tryal, but had no Opportunity for it. This, as Eusebius observed, very ill agrees with the Pretensions of Apollonius, who before is represented professing to know not only the Events of things, but even the Thoughts of Men. But it is manifest, that Philostratus has bestowed that Oration on Apollonius; his Style, his Turn

E 3

of Words and Thoughts, and his Ostentation of Learning and Eloquence are visible in every part, tho' he endeavours to conceal the Cheat, and makes him excuse himself, and fay, that he did not speak like himself, εμτοςεκώτες ςν ίσως απολελόγημα, τε με τρόπε. He is said to disappear on the suddain, at his Tryal before the Emperor, to his great Consternation, and to convey himself to Puteoli, where he was seen soon after by Demetrius and Damis. And being at Ephesus, he openly told the very inflant, when Domitian was assassinated at Rome. But is it credible, that things of this Publick Nature, if they had been true, would have been told us only by Philostratus, and those, who have transcribed him? That the Roman Historians before his time, should make no mention of them? That Suetonius should omit all this, who is so particular in relating Omens and Prodigies, and in the Life of Domitian takes notice of the strange Prediction of Ascletarion? How

How could it come to pass, that he should say nothing of Apollonius? Is it not still most of all Incredible, that the Adversaries of the Christian Religion before Philostratus should pretend no Advantage from any of these things against it.

Dion Cassius, who lived under Soverus Alexander, after the writing of Apollonius's Life by Philostratus, mentions that of Apollonius as well as other Prodigies attending Domitian's Death, yet he differs in the Relation from Philostratus, being uncertain whether Apollonius was then at Ephe-Sus, or somewhere else; but is very positive that being in some place at a great distance he perceived Domitian killed at Rome; this, he says, was so, tho' it should be never so often denied: Which is a fign that this was but little credited in Dion's time. Philostratus doth not agree in his Account of Domitian's Death with the Roman Historians. And

(x) Lipsius observing a gross Mistake (x) Lips. ad of his, about the Death of Agrippina, Tac. An. lib. E 4 makes 14.

makes this Remark. So great a Trifler is he both in the whole, and in the Several Parts of his Work.

I will not insist upon the Two Vessels, one full of Wine, the other of Rain, the Tables and Cups, that with the Dishes placed themselves in very exact Order for the Entertainment of Apollonius among the Indians, his Understanding the Language of Birds, his Conversation with the Ghost of Achilles, the Speaking Elm, the Lion, which defired Apollonius to declare his Pedigree, for that this same Lion was Amasis once King of Ægypt, and wept, when Apollonius told it to the Company: These things, and whatever else there is of the like Nature, I leave with the Adversaries of our Religion, to make the most of: Such things must be either downright Lies, or the Effect of Magick, and can neither way be of any Service to their Purpose.

The Solution of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea by fubterraneous Winds forcing the Waters from Shore to Shore, the Pigmies, Griffins, and Sciapodes are strange things, and I will not meddle with them; the Friends of Apollonius may believe them, if they think fit; only I wish Philostratus had been more positive, whether there be such a People, as the Sciapodes, or no: For (l) in one (1) Lib. III. part of this Life I find it denied, 14. VI. 12. and affirmed in another. And methinks when Apollonius profest to know not only the Languages, but the Thoughts of Men, and could converse with Birds and Beasts and Trees and Ghosts, he had little need of travelling for his Improvement in Knowledge, as far as India and Æthiopia: There is nothing of all these fine Discoveries in Natural History, but what he might with much less Trouble have had from his own Invention, or from the Greek Authors; from whence indeed Philostratus had them, and then

he sent Apollonius about the World to make Discoveries, to give him an Opportunity of writing them.

The Life of Apollonius was only an Exercise of Philostratus's Wit and Invention; he lay before under a very ill Character, as it appears from Lucian, and from Philostratus himself, who is so often endeavouring to remove from him the Suspicion of Magick.

But Philostratus resolved, he should be a compleat Philosopher, beyond any, that the World had ever known before; that he should know all things, be able to do all things, should travel into the remotest Regions; and whatever Philostratus could read or think of, he lavish'd it all upon his wonderful Apollonius. And this he performed after the manner of the Sophists, so profusely and negligently, that Hierocles seems to have been the first Author, that ever mistook the Life of Apollomins from true History; and it is great

great wonder, he should not be the Tast, when Eusebius had so fully exposed his Folly in it. And as the Person of eminent Learning beforementioned observes, no Man but one perfectly blinded with Prejudice and Malice, or with Ambition and Covetousness could have written in so extravagant a manner and with so vain an Endeavour, as Hierocles did, when says he, I cannot think any Learned Man in his Age, being asked of all the Writers, whose Works were then extant, which was the greatest Lyar? Would name any other than Philostratus. I am sure, he could not, if he would speak impartially.

II. Tho' the Account, which Philostratus has given of Apollonius Tyaneus were granted to be as true, as
it is certainly false: Yet it would
not serve the Design for which the
Enemies of Christianity produce it.
There is nothing, which is necessarily required and expected in a Person, who comes with a Divine
Power

Power and Authority to establish Religion, but it was evidently wanting in Apollonius, as Philostratus has described him. His Miracles, his Prophecies, and his Doctrines were very far from being such as they ought to have been, if the Pretences of our Adversaries had any Foundation of Truth to support them.

(m) Lib. II. 15. III. 13. VI. 5. 10.

1. I shall begin with his Do-Arine, and shall shew, that this is false both in Religion and in Morality. (m) His great Endeavour and Business was to regulate and establish the Worship of the Heathen Gods, wherever he came; he wrote Books concerning Sacrifices, to shew what were the proper Sacrifices to be offered to the several Gods; he approved of the Worship of Diana by the Lacedamonians with Human Blood; he constantly worshipped the Sun, and composed Books of Divination by the Stars; and wore certain Astrological Rings, which he had received from Iarchus

of Apollonius Tyaneus.

of a Magical Vertue, if they had any such as he supposed them to have. (n) Damis is very sollicitous (n) Lib. I. c. to clear his Master from the Imputation of Magick for his Conversation with Iarchas and other Philosophers in India, and yet Apollonius himself expresses the highest Admiration of these Philsophers, and used their Magical Rings. And the (x) (x) Hottinger. Arabians, both the Christians and the Histor. Oriental. lib. I. c. 8. Mohometans, affirm, that Apollonius was the Inventor of Talismans: (xx) (xx) Leun-Which the Greeks also report of clav. Pandest. Hist. Turcic. him.

He (0) taught a Fatal Necessity (0) Lib. VIII. of all Events in the highest Terms, c. 3. as that if a Tyrant should kill the Person whom the Fates had decreed for his Successor, this dead Man should be raised to Life again to succeed his Murderer; if it was determined that any Man should be a Carpenter, he must certainly be one, tho' both his Hands had been cut off; and if it were decreed by Fate, that a Man should win the Race at the

the Olympick Games, he must do it in spite of his Legs, tho' they were broken; or if a Man were to gain the Prize by Shooting, tho' he had lost his Eyes, he could not miss the Mark.

(p) Lib. II. c. 15.

It (p) happened, that Phraotes the Indian King was perplexed, how to decide a Controversy, that was brought before him, concerning a Treasure, that had been found in a Field, some time after it was fold: The Question was, whether this Treasure belonged to the late, or to the present Possessor. And Apollonius decided it in favour of him, who upon enquiry proved to be the more vertuous and devout Man of the Two, and appeared upon that account to be dearest to the Gods, and whom they must be supposed to design, to enrich by the Discovery of this hidden Treasure: And by this Determination of the Case, it fell to the Possessor. This was to consider not the Merits of the Cause, but of the Persons, and was contrary,

contrary, as Eusebius remarked, to all sound Philosophy, as well as to Experience, both which teach us, that bad Men are often more prosperous than the Good.

If we (q) look into the Manners (q) Lib. 1. and Behaviour of Apollonius, he was 13. VII. 6. Proud, a Flatterer, and a Reviler. He boasted, that he knew all things; not only all Languages, but even the Thoughts of Men, and yet betray'd gross Ignorance in divers Cafes. He boasted that Vespasian was obliged to him for his Empire; and magnified his own Merits to Domitian upon that Account. One Accusation against him was, that Menstyled him a God, and he owned the thing, and maintained it to be lawful and reasonable, in the Presence of that Emperor.

2. His Miracles, if they had been true in Fact, yet would have been deficient in the Manner, and Circumstances, and End of them. In Miracles not only the Works themfelves.

Observations on the Life

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felves, but the Tendency of them, and the Doctrine, which they are brought to establish, are to be considered. For Devils may by their Power and Cunning enable ill Men to amuse and raise the Wonder of others. The Doctrine of Apollonius being false and wicked, his Miracles could be of no Authority for the Confirmation of it, tho' they were in Truth such as they are pretended to have been.

(r) Lib. IV. c. 16. VII. c. 16. VIII. 2. But I shall shew the Defect of his Miracles also in other respects. The (r) young Woman is not assirted to have been dead; but Philostratus says only, that she seemed to have been so, zelvava, edone, and is doubtful, whether some Spark of Life might not remain in her. He caused the Fetter, with which he was bound, to fall from his Leg; but we have nothing besides Damis's Word for this, which is no better than just nothing at all.

He is reported to have vanished from the Presence of Domitian at his Tryal; but how incredible this is, has been already noted. However, let us suppose at present, that the Authority of Damis is to be held unquestionable, and that Philostratus is more to be regarded, than all other Authors, who lived before him, and at the very time when these Wonders are said to have been, and whom it concerned to take notice of them; let us for once rely upon the sole Credit of Philostratus, and allow his Fables for Truth: Yet the Doctrine of Apollonius being false and wicked, his Wonders must be ascribed to another Power, than that of God. We are not able to know, how far the Diabolical Arts of Magick may reach, and one Accusation brought against Apollonius was his being guilty of the Practice of these Arts. And his own way of Reasoning, which he is said to have used to Domitian, overthrows whatever can be pretended in Affertion of a Divine Power enabling him

him to work these Miracles. When the Emperor commanded him to be bound; If you think me to be a Magician, says Apollonius, how will you bind me? But if you can bind me, how can you believe me to be a Magician? In like manner, as Eusebius has observed, it may be argued against Apollonius: If you be not a Magician, how did you cause the Fetter to fall from your Leg? If you did cause it to fall off, how are you no Magician? And if it be an Argument, that he was no Magician, because he could be brought to his Tryal; it is as good an Argument, that he was a Magician, because he vanished out of the Court.

If he conversed with Ghosts, it only proves him a Necromancer; and I hope the fondest Admirers of Apollonius need not be told, that his Understanding the Speech of Beasts and Birds and Trees has neither Miracle nor Wonder in it, besides the Considence of his Pretence.

of Apollonius Tyaneus.

3. As little can be faid for Apollonius in respect of Prophecies as of Miracles. It is not pretended, that there were any former Prophecies concerning him, unless the idle Story of Proteus's appearing to his Mother must be taken for one, and the Omen of the finging of Swans at his Birth be drawn in for another. And whatever Pretence he may have to the Title of a Prophet himself, it was only by his Knowledge of things past, or said by him to have been past; as what Bodies the Souls of Men, or Beasts had before informed, and what had been done by them: Or by his Knowledge of things then in Agitation, as of the Death of Domitian a while before he was killed; or of things at the very time of Action, as his knowing at Ephesus, the Time when Domitian was set upon, and stabbed at Rome.

His pretended Knowledge of the Transmigration of his own Soul and of the Soul of others into Men or Beasts, has nothing to support it, but all the Arguments against it,

F 2 which

which can be brought against so absurd an Hypothesis. And supposing
them true, there is nothing in the
Knowledge of things past, or ready
for Action, or in actual Performance,
but what the Devil might discover
to him. The Devil may know the
Secret History of past Ages, he may
know what is designed and attempted to be done, and with what
Success, and he may know, what
Men are doing in very distant Places; and what he knew, he might
discover to Apollonius.

The Divine Mission of a Prophet must be confirmed not only by the Events of the things spoken of by him; but by the Truth of his Doctrines as well as of the Events: For many things may come to pass by chance, and many more by the Information and Suggestion of Evil Spirits.

Whatever Opinion we have therefore of the History of the Life of Apollonius, there is nothing in it to warrant the Pretence, which Hierocles formerly, and some, who are more inexcusable now, would make from it. If the History History of his Life be a Fable, as it plainly is, there is no more regard to be had to it, than to other Fables. And tho' it were true; yet he must have been an Impostor. His Doctrine was false and wicked; and neither his Miracles, nor his Pro-

phecies were of any Authority.

This is all, which I thought needful to be observed concerning Apollonius Tyaneus. But because the Do-Arine of Miracles is of the highest Importance; I shall endeavour to fet that, which I take to be the true and received Doctrine upon this Subject, in as clear a Light as the present occasion will permit, being perswaded, that whoever attempts to remove, or unsettle the ancient Foundations, upon which the Authority of Miracles has hitherto stood, can never fix it upon other Principles. A Miracle is a Work of the Divine Power, above the Power of all Natural Causes, or different from the ordinary Course of Nature, in Confirmation of some Doctrine, which is agreeable to Natu-F 2

All Operations in the settled Course of Nature are Effects of the Divine Power, but Miracles are the strange Works of God, upon particular and great Occasions, more peculiarly effected by himself; though we may not be able in some Cases to distinguish true Miracles from false, but by the Doctrines, in Consirmation

whereof they are wrought.

When God has been pleased to fend any Person with Commission from himself to instruct and reform the World, Men must judge of the Truth of his Commission by such Principles of Sense and Reason, as are antecedent to Revelation: And the Person sent approving his Commission both to the Reason and Senfes of Mankind, must be received as commissioned from God. When any Person by the Power of God wrought a Miracle in Confirmation of the Doctrine, which he was sent to preach; the Senses only of the Beholders could give them Information, whether the Miracle were real

and without Deceit; and they could be informed only by Natural Reason (supposing they had received no former Divine Revelation) whether his Doctrine contained nothing contrary to the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue. If a Man teach true Doctrine in Points of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue; yet if he pretend to a Gift of Miracles, when he has none, he is an Impostor nevertheless, and is not to be credited in those things, which he delivers as from God, beyond what Humane Reason instructs us to believe and do. And if his Miracles be such, as that they cannot be detected of Forgery; yet if his Doctrine be contrary to the Principles of Na. tural Religion and Moral Vertue, we must reject his Miracles for the sake of his false Doctrine, and not receive his Doctrine, because his Miracles cannot be found to be Cheats; but must conclude, that they proceed from the Power or Delufion of Evil Spirits, since God would never impower any Man to work Miracles, F4

in order to seduce Mankind into Vice and Error. This will appear, if we consider I. That we are not able to know, what the Power of Spirits over the Visible Part of the Creation may be. II. That the Truth of Doctrine must concur with the Truth of Miracles to prove the Mission of one sent from God, to reveal his Will. III. That when a Revelation is once established upon undoubted Miracles, it ought to be the Rule and Standard whereby to judge of all future Miracles.

I. We are not able to know, what the Power of Spirits over the Visible Part of Creation may be. We may know many things, which they cannot do, but we are not able to know all, which they may do. We know, that evil Spirits have but a finite and a limited Power, and that they are absolutely under the Omnipotent Power of God: We may be sure, that they can never encroach upon the Power and Prerogative of God, nor defeat his end and design in any part of the Creation: And there-

fore they cannot raise the Dead, because when the Soul is separated from the Body, God alone, who at first united them, can command the Soul back again, and re-unite it to the Body. They cannot impose upon the Senses of Men, when the Object, the Medium, the Distance, and the Senses themselves are fitly disposed for a right Perception of the Object, at least, they cannot thus impose upon all the Senses together, and upon the Senses of Multitudes of Men, continually, for a long time; because this would be against the Order and Design of God in giving us our Senses, and would take away all Certainty of the Perceptions of Senses.

To act against the established Course of Nature, or above the Power of all natural Causes, is to create, or to introduce something new, which was not in the World before, and can belong only to God himself. But the Course and Laws of Nature may be understood, either with respect to the visible part of the Creation

tion only; or with respect also to the invisible part of the Creation, as it may act upon the visible. One of the most known and certain Laws in the Course of Nature, with respect to the visible and material part of the Creation, is, that No Body at rest, can Move, but by the Stroke or Impression of some Body, which thereby loses so much of its own Motion, as is imparted to the other: But this general Rule has an Exception with respect to Spirits, which can put Bodies into Motion; and can impart Motion to them, without losing any of their own Motion or Activity; and thus it may be in many other Cases unknown to us. Spirits have a greater Knowledge of the ordinary Course of Nature than Men can have, and may by applying Actives to Passives promote and quicken the Natural Course of things, or by withdrawing Actives from Passives they may hinder or retard the usual effects of Natural Causes. They may by sudden and unaccountable Methods do things, which nothing but the Event could.

could render credible, and may furpass all Mathematical Skill, the Operations of Chymistry, or any Human Art or Science.

And if it should be supposed, that Spirits might make some Alterations in the ordinary Course of Nature, it will not from thence follow, that they may therefore make other Alterations, even tho' they be less than the former. Because they act by a limited, as well as a finite Power, and cannot pass the Bounds, to which they are restrained. The Legion of Devils, who had possess the Man in the Gospel, could not enter into the Swine without Leave: They knew it to be no Consequence, because they had been suffered to do that which was greater, that they might therefore do that, which was less; or that they might have the same Power over a Herd of Swine, which they had had over the Man. They acted but by Permission, and a Permission is no Warrant to do any thing greater or less than the thing which is permitted. Whether the Miracles of the Magicians of Egypt were real,

real, or Delusory; they found a sudden stop put to their Power, when they least expected it, whereby they were forced to acknowledge a Supreme Power, over-ruling that, by which they acted. Whilst the Magicians opposed Moses, and the Contention between them was depending, Pharaoh and the Egyptians might have observed a manifest Inequality, between the Miracles of Moses and those of the Magicians; but when the Magicians had given up the Cause, and were forced to delift from the Contest, and to acknowledge a Divine Power in Moses, enabling him to do more, than they could follow him in doing; there could be no longer any occasion of Suspence in any Man's Mind; the Case was plain beyond Dispute, when once that Tryal was over, and the Magicians were vanquished by their own Confession. And that it might the more evidently appear, that they acted by a Power, which was not only finite in it self, but limited and restrained in its Acting by a superior Power, they found themthemselves unable to turn Dust into Lice, tho' they had already done things which were much more wonderful.

We are not concerned to know, how far, and by what Power, the Magicians proceeded with their Enchantments, in Imitation of the first three Miracles wrought by Moses; because whatever theirs were, they were not able to stand in Competition with his Miracles. The Magicians made some Opposition for a while, but being forced to yield and give over, they rendred the Miracles of Moses more undeniable, than they would have been, if they had met with no Opposition. But it is impossible for us to know, how far the Power of Spirits may extend over the visible World, what the Force of their own Nature is, and under what Laws and Restraints God has placed them, and therefore if the Magicians had used their Enchantments, when Moses had not been present, there might perhaps have been no other Means, besides the Consideration of the end and design of them, to undeceive the Beholders. And And this likewise might have been the Case in the Wonders of Apollonius.

II. The Truth of Doctrine must concur with the Truth of Miracles, to prove the Mission of one sent from God, to reveal his Will. As Miracles must approve themselves to the Senfes of them, before whom they are wrought; so the Doctrine must approve it self to their Reason judging according to the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, before any one ought to be acknowledged as sent from God, to deliver his Will and Commandments to the World. Miracles are as the Seal, the Doctrines are as the Contents of the Divine Credentials: And a Commission from a Prince may be detected of Forgery, sometimes by a counterfeit Seal, sometimes by notorious Falshoods and Absurdities in the Contents, and sometimes by both these ways; and a Commission is never to be admitted for Authentick, but when nothing either in relation to the Seal or the Contents can be proved false. So in the Commission of a Person from God.

God, there must be Concurrence of every thing requisite to prove it true, and give Credit to him, that brings it: The Truth of his Miracles and of his Doctrines must concur in the Proof of it; if either fail, he is a false Pretender. Not that God would ever grant a Power of Miracles to a Teacher of false Doctrine; but the Falshood of the Doctrine may be discover'd, when the Miracles are not discerned to be false by the Senses, but only known and concluded to be so, because they are wrought to an ill end and purpose.

But if the Doctrine prove the Miracles, and the Miracles prove the Doctrines, is not this to prove in a Circle, and in effect to make the same

thing prove it felf?

I answer: Doctrines taught by Men from God, are either such as Natural Religion and Human Reason teach; or such as these do not, and cannot teach: And the Doctrines, whereby we must judge, whether we ought to receive a Revelation upon the account of Miracles, are the Doctrines.

Etrines, which are known by Human Reason, and taught by Natural Religion. But the Doctrines, which Miracles are wrought in order to instruct us in, are such as only Revelation teaches, in the Mysteries, and Sacraments, and other Institutions of Revealed Religion. Men could discover the Truth of the Operation of Miracles, not by the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, but by the Senses: Neither could they discern the Agreement of the Do-Arines taught with the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue by the Operation of Miracles wrought to introduce Revealed Religion, but by their Reason: And when the Testimony of Sense concerning the working of Miracles concurred with the Judgment of Reason concerning the Doctrines, in point of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue; this Concurrence both of Sense and Reason assured them of the Truth of the Divine Revelation, and obliged them to receive the Doctrines, which they knew and believed upon the fole Authority thority of this Revelation. The Contents of a Commission cannot inform us, that the Seal is true, nor doth the Seal necessarily assure us of the Truth of the Contents (because it may be suspected of Forgery) But if both the Seal and the Contents be sound to be true, they both jointly assure us of the Authority of the Commission, and lay all the Obligation upon the Persons concerned, which can be en-

joyned by Virtue of it.

We may indeed be imposed upon by Human Commissions, because the Name and Authority of Kings may be abused, when they have no Knowledge of it, nor Power to prevent it. But God being infinite in Wisdom and Power, we have all the Certainty, which we can possibly have in any case, upon the Principles of Natural Religion in Consideration of the Divine Attributes, that God will not suffer us to be deceived in his own Name, and under the pretence of his own Authority, without affording certain means to discover the Imposture either in the Miracles or Do-Crines Observations on the Life

ctrines of him, who comes in his

Christ wrought a Miracle in the Cure of the Man sick of the Palsy to give Evidence to this Doctrine, That he had power to forgive sins, Mark II. 3, &c. But if it had been possible for him to teach, That that is not Sin, which is contrary to Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, it must have been also possible, that this Miracle should be false. I maintain that it was impossible for this Man to have been cured in that manner, but by Miracle; and at the same time maintain, that it was impossible for Christ to teach any but true Doctrine. But as this Miracle at this particular time and occasion was a Proof of his Power to forgive Sins; so the Agreement of his Dostrine with Natural Religion and Moral Vertue was a constant Attestation to his Power of forgiving Sins, and to whatever else we read in his Gospel above Humane Reason. Miracles were not wrought to give Attestation to any Doctrine, which might be known without Revelation,

but to give Attestation to such Doctrines, as could not be known without it: And the Doctrines, which may be known without Revelation are those, which necessarily must concur with the Gift of Miracles to prove a Divine Commission. For I am as certain that Murther is a Crime, as I can be, that none but a Divine Power can raise the Dead; and if any one should pretend to raise the Dead, and at the same time make it his Business to perswade the World, that Murther is no sin, I need not concern my self to enquire into his Pretences of raifing the Dead; fince I certainly know, God would never give that Power to any Man, in order to gain him Credit in teaching such Doctrines.

It is no Absurdity therefore to say, both that if a Worker of Miracles teach false Doctrines, his Miracles are to be rejected as false, and that Miracles confirm the Truth of Doctrines taught by the Workers of Miracles. Because the Doctrines, which receive their Authority from Miracles, are not the same with those, which are known

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antecedently to Miracles, and which must concur with them in attesting the Divine Mission of the Workers of Miracles.

III. When a Revelation is once established upon undoubted Miracles it ought to be the Rule and Standard, whereby to judge of all future Miracles. Since the Divine Authority of the Goipel has been infallibly proved by undeniable Miracles, Holiness of Doctrine, and all other Means and Circumstances concurring to establish it; the Doctrines revealed in the Goipel are the Test and Standard whereby to judge of all Pretences of a miraculous Power, or Divine Mission: Because we are now as certain of these Revealed Doctrines, as of the Do-Ctrines of Natural Religion and Moral . Vertue, and we have Cautions given us to prevent our being seduced by the Signs and Wonders of Impostors, who would attempt to fet up themselves in Opposition to Christ. Tho' me, says St. Paul, or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that, which me have preached unto

you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed, Gal. I. 8, 9. The Apostle speaks in nothing more positively and vehemently than in this, that no Gospel different from that which had been already delivered, was to be admitted, but rejected with Abhorrence. In like manner, and for the same Reason, if an Angel from Heaven should work Miracles to introduce and establish any other Gospel, he ought to be held accursed, no regard ought to be had to him, but all his Pretences ought to be rejected with the utmost Detestation. The working of Satan with all Power and Signs, and with all Deceivableness of Unrighteousness, the most specious and amusing Pretences to Miracles can amount to no more than lying Wonders; and we have all the Assurance, that they must be false, which we can have, that the Gospel is true. And fince the Divine Authority of the Gospel cannot be disproved, but the foundation of God standeth Sure.

Jure, and he cannot deny himself; no Doctrine or Miracles in Opposition to the Gospel, or for the Advancement of any other Revelation can, deserve any Regard or Consideration from us.

If a great King should under his Seal send a Charter into some of the remotest Provinces of his Kingdom, wherein he cautioned his Subjects not to regard any other Charters, which he knew would be fent among them under his Name; forasmuch as this was his true and only Charter, and the Laws of his Kingdom were like those of the Medes and Persians, that no Decree nor Statute, which the King establisheth, may be changed; ought not the Subjects to reject any other Charter, that should be brought to them, under whatsoever Pretences, without entring into the Examination of the Particulars contained in the Charters afterwards brought, or of the Seals put to them? And since this must be so in Commissions given out by Humane Authority; at least, if the Laws of any Human Govern-

ment

of Apollonius Tyaneus.

ment could be supposed to be unalterable: It must be much the rather thus, when God has established a Revelation upon sixt and unchangeable Laws, and has declared, that he will make no Addition nor Alteration, but that this is the last Revelation of his Will to Mankind unto the end of the World, and for that Reason has cautioned and commanded us to look upon all others, which he foresaw would appear, as false, and upon the Miracles wrought in behalf of them,

as Impostures.

We are as sure, that since the Gospel all Prophecies or Miracles, which may have at any time been in Opposition to it, are false, as we are that the Gospel it self is true, and nothing can justify us in giving heed to them; because nothing can invalidate the Gospel of Christ, who has forewarned us to disregard the Signs and Wonders and all the highest Pretences of those who would seduce us from the Belief of his Gospel. The Doctrines there established were to be the Standard of all Doctrines for the future,

and

and the Miracles there related were to preclude all Miracles which would be wrought at any time to come, with a contrary Purpose and Design. So that whatever the Miracles of Apollonius were, they can concern Christians no farther than to be rejected as false, being wrought by a Man, who himself received Divine Honours, and made it his Business to teach and pra-Etise Idolatry, and to regulate the Rites and Forms of it, and recommend it to the World, in Opposition to the Gospel, by which the Heathen Worship is condemned, and was in great Measure overthrown by the Preaching of the Apostles and their Disciples, when Apollonius endeavoured to restore it to its former Esteem in the World.

I have shewn that no Credit is to be given to the Relations of Miracles wrought by Apollonius, and we may be affured that no such Miracles shall or can be wrought in behalf of any Religion contrary to the Gospel, as have been in Consirmation of it. But strange things may be done by the cunning Artifice of Men, and things much more strange and wonderful by the Power and Subtilty of Evil Spirits, which we need be at no pains to examine and confute, but may despise and reject them upon the Warrant and Authority of our Saviour in his Gospel.

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Note upon the LIFE of Apollonius, p. 10.

M. De Tillemont translates reia mul-πλεθεα, un arpent & demi, and intimates, that this was an odd way of measuring. Arpent I find, signifies a Furlong as well as an Acre: But Thebeen fignifies not only an Acre, but the Sixth part of a Furlong, that is, LXVIII. Cubits, or C. Feet, as we learn from Suidas. So that τεία ημίπλεθρα make CL. Feet, which was the Height of the Walls of Babylon according to Philostratus. And this was no unusual way of Measuring: For the Breadth of the Tiber, at Rome, is thus described by Dionysius Halicarnasseus, & to uer Eves οι τετίάεςν πλέθοων. Rom. Antiqu. Lib. IX. p. 460. Ed. R. Steph. and Xenophon as he is cited by Suidas, speaking of the Palm Trees about Babylon, fays, The Beselvit polveras qu'esai. Suid. in mxs0g.

The Reader is defired to take Notice, that throughout the Preface, by a Mistake of the Press, M. Boyle is put for M. Bayle.

ERRATA.

Ref. p. 8. Marg. f. suam r. suum. p. 10. Marg. f. imagg. r. imaggions. Life of Apol. p. 8. l. 12. f. acquired r. required. p. 14. l. 1. after was. r. not. p. 18. l. 17. f. Achin. r. Achaia. p. 20. l. 26. f. Cataret r. Cataract. p. 29. l. 1. after to, r. good. p. 31. l. 6. r. Philostratus. p. 34. l. 26. after be r. publickly. p. 36. l. 4. f. adoreing the Lion r. causing the Lion to be adored. l. 13. r. Lucullus. p. 39. Marg. r. Larario. Observ. upon Apol. p. 47. l. 20. f. Domitian r. Nerva. p. 34. l. 8. r. amoreologues. p. 56. l. 5. f. Wine r. Winds. p. 58. l. ult. f. from r. for. p. 60. l. ult. r. Iarchas. p. 64. l. 18. r. πθνάναι. p. 73. l. 19. f. Senses r. Sense.

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